

It is because I do not see how the present rulers of France and England can afford to make peace—that is any such peace as they can reasonably demand or even Austria would propose. And if they will not accede to Austria's bases of peace, it is their interest to plunge into a war which will be a struggle for life.

Since, then, the patriotism of Louis Napoleon and his friend Palmerston is not popularly supposed to be patterned after that of the Roman Curia, I conclude that we are not to have peace this summer, and I infer that the Allied Commanders, fully conscious that they cannot now invest Sevastopol, and cannot take it without, are about to raise the siege for the alternative of dividing their forces. It is not so strong and active an army as the one which they had in the open field. They can do this with an army, in good part veteran, numbering not less than 125,000 effective, supported by a powerful fleet after leaving a force sufficient to blockade the harbor of Sevastopol, while their innumerable transports will convey not only food but guns and munitions and baggage to any point of the coast nearest to the designated field of operations. Since the necessity of such a demonstration is apparent, there is no reason why the Russian army should not await them in a strong position at or near Sympheropol, where their superiority in cavalry and perhaps in field artillery may be improved to the utmost. To Russia, a decided defeat in such a conflict must be disastrous: to the Allies, with their four independent commanders, the sea at their backs, and their siege artillery and munitions to be protected, it can be little less than ruin. Whatever its issue, I believe a great battle must be fought in the Crimea before the end of June. And should the Allies be signally beaten, there are thrones which weeks may suffice to topple over.

For dear bread and ragged finances are now chronic complaints throughout this Old World. We have groans over the enormous cost of living even from far-off Constantinople; Italy is admitted by the Conservative oracles to be in a state of permanent and general though smothered rebellion, whereof the feud between Church and State in Sardinia and the recent unopposed proclamation of Rocco di Papa (Papal States) are but indications. Mark the following from the Imperial *Journal de Debats* of yesterday:

"The revolutionary spirit appears to be aroused in Italy. An unusual agitation has been observed in several important cities, which coincides with the appearance of the agents of secret societies. Some of these agents have been arrested, papers of consequence have been seized, and it is said the proofs of a vast conspiracy have been found, which had for object the breaking out of an insurrection in the central States. Enough is known to show that danger exists; not sufficient to prevent it. What has passed within eight days at Rocco di Papa is an index of the situation. Many circumstances have contributed to render the cause of the Italian populations. The cause of the withdrawal of the Austrian troops from Modena and Tuscany was not at first known; it is now asserted that Marshal Radetzki wished to concentrate his forces so as to be able to displace them upon any points, and with more vigor, which should be measured.

Consider with this the progress of the smouldering insurrection in Spain, where Monarchy has come to be understood as a device for enormously enriching the Royal Family and its favorites while the Nation is a cypher, the Treasury is impoverished and the public creditors defrauded of their just dues. Through sheer impotence and depravity Royalty is fast sinking into open bankruptcy in predominantly loyal Spain, and will not pay sixpence in the pound. The hopeless ruin of the finances of Austria has been fully set forth in THE TRIBUNE. France this year borrows and spends One Hundred Million Dollars over and above her income, and will try to raise another loan before the year is out unless the War is stopped meantime. England borrows Eighty Millions of Dollars, increases her taxes, and threatens to come again. Such threats seldom remain unfulfilled. How rapid and signal is the decay of the Aristocratic prestige which has so long served her rulers instead of a great Standing Army and a fettered Press. I leave to be set forth by correspondents permanently in that country. I think no intelligent observer regards the further government of Great Britain by such machinery as has hitherto sufficed even a possibility. Further North, in Denmark, we see the High Court of Justice about to proceed to the trial on impeachment of the late Ministry, which is in fact a trial of the King on that charge—a trial at least of the vital principle of Monarchy. Thus from every side come indications that "old things are passing away," and that, in spite of spies, and gags, and dungeons, and bayonets innumerable, there dawns upon the mind of Europe a clearer recognition, a profounder appreciation, of the inalienable Rights of Man. Years yet may be required to render it a living, pervading actuality; yet I feel confident, and of Russia, the sway of Prætorian Emperors and miscreant Bombas must every day grow feebler until it passes away forever. I. G.

## THE STATE OF EUROPE.

From Our Own Correspondent.

LONDON, Friday, May 25, 1855.

While Austria has sent a new proposition to London and Paris, it is stated in the best-informed circles that the English Ministry is divided in respect to the question of peace and war. Lord Lansdowne, Lord John Russell and the Duke of Argyll, together with Sir William Molesworth and Mr. Vernon Smith being ready to sign a treaty of peace at any price. A few days will probably suffice to show the precise facts, since there are some persons who do not believe in Lord Palmerston's warlike spirit, and treat the split in the Cabinet as a prearranged scene for the benefit of Lord Palmerston's reputation. The English Attaché of the Embassy at Constantinople, Mr. William Doria, has lately been in Moldavia and describes the outrages of the Austrian army of occupation most graphically. According to his statement the Austrian army—these celebrated Croat battalions—are an undisciplined rabble commanded by officers who dare not reprimand them. The outrages in Wallachia have been reported to London by the English Consul-General, Mr. Colquhoun. And still England caresses this power which is not able to keep its soldiers in decent order. As to France, Napoleon seems to delight in bullying and flattering the Court of Vienna alternately. When the Polish aristocratic and military refugees, represented by Prince Czartoryski and Gen. Rybinski, presented their address to the Emperor after the unsuccessful attempt of Piazzi—the Democratic under Wysocki and

Mircowski did not take a part in the demonstration—Napoleon said to them "Till now I could not do for Poland what I wished to have done. But to-day, by the course matters are taking, I am induced to hope that I shall be enabled to be useful to you in prosecuting the work of him whose heir I am." The Austrian papers took great offense at these words, and reminded the Poles that Napoleon I said once, "I can make use of the Poles, but not of Poland." The funds declined at the Vienna exchange, and people asked whether Napoleon III in mentioning Poland did not mean Hungary and Italy. But suddenly the ill-temper was dispersed at Court; the first dispatch of Count Walewski was so flattering to Austria that the impression gained ground it was the Poles and not the Austrians who are to be cheated by the French Emperor.

Napoleon is reconstructing his Ministry. Mr. Fortoul, the Socialist and Communist of 1848-49, is to be dismissed from his post as Minister of Public Worship and Instruction, and his place has been offered to Cardinal Mathieu, Bishop of Besançon. The Cardinal declined the ministry—in the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, as he said. He felt keenly that France of Napoleon III was not the France of Louis XIII or XIV, and that the days of Richelieu and Mazarin cannot return any more than the Monarchy by the grace of God. The Vicomte de la Guéronnière, the well-known political weathercock of the *Presse* and *Pays*, is likely to succeed Fortoul, and the Ministry is altogether to be composed of the family of the Emperor—Morny, his illegitimate brother; Walewski, his illegitimate cousin; and of adventurers entirely devoted to his person, as for instance Persigny and La Guéronnière.

The infant son of the King of Sardinia has died, and the King is seriously alarmed by the successive death of his mother, wife, brother and son within one year, while the ultramontane priesthood point to his afflictions as a punishment of God for the secularization of the Church property. He is said to contemplate a marriage with the Princess Mary of Cambridge. According to other rumors he intends to visit the camp in the Crimea, and to take part in the campaign.

Berlin correspondents most seriously aver that the Courts of Austria and Prussia have come to a perfect understanding about their policy of neutrality, which has always been openly avowed by the King of Prussia, while the Emperor of Austria had to feign good-will for England and France until he got into the Danubian Principalities. A secret dispatch of Count Buol to Count Esterhazy is often alluded to as containing a complete and for the Prussian Court most satisfactory explanation of the motives of Austria and her conduct, while giving full security to Prussia that Austria will not depart from the line of strict neutrality. All Germany is soon to accede to the same policy, and to insist upon the most perfect neutrality as regards the belligerent Powers. The opportunity for such a declaration will be found at the renewal on the Austrian proposition at Frankfurt for the mobilization of the contingents of the Germanic Confederation.

I learn from an influential member of Parliament that the speedy resignation of Lord Russell is expected by the Government. The difficulty is only to find a successor more energetic and able.

As soon as the extraordinary levy of recruits in the Western seventeen provinces of Russia is terminated, Poland and Finland will be ordered to furnish another extraordinary levy. The fortresses of the Baltic have been considerably strengthened during the last winter, and the allied fleet has scarcely any chance for glory.

The right, or rather the duty of defending the country in the regular army, extended by the Sultan by his Christian subjects, is likely to produce a social revolution in Turkey. The measure is not popular with the Christian clergy, who are the real chiefs of the Christian population. Prof. Newman very ably remarks: "In the Turkish Empire and eastward there has been no reformation in the Christian Churches, because the rulers, being Mussulmans, excluded the Christians from high posts of State, and treated them as a lower caste. The Christians had no other nationality than that of the Church to rally to, and in fact threw themselves on to the Church as their sole defense against the hostile State."

As soon as military officers rise among the Bulgarians and Rumelians the priests will lose their present controlling influence, and a kind of nobility will naturally be formed and obtain rank in the democratic society of the Christians of the South-east, which have hitherto been exclusively ruled and represented by bishops and priests. Whether a sense of patriotism now entirely unknown to the Christian subjects of the Porte may arise from the altered condition, remains to be seen. Hitherto they have only known the brotherhood of the Church, and in some parts of the country a kind of clanish allegiance to their traditional leaders. The Roman Catholic Bosniak or the Mirdite of the Albanian mountains has always treated the Greek Catholic Bulgarian and Moldavian as an enemy even during the present war, and Omer Pasha has had to dismiss the corps of Albanian Bash-Bazouks, who had distinguished themselves at Silistria, because they could not be taught to respect the Greek churches and priests, when they outraged as secret allies of the Russians, they themselves being Roman Catholic. It is a great mistake to believe that the Christians have until now been entirely excluded from the defense of the Turkish Empire; they have been excluded only from the regular army. The navy and the flotilla of the Danube has contained many Christians, and the contingents of the Saporagh Cossacks, and the Albanian Mirdite Bash-Bazouks are altogether Christian.

Next week I shall probably have to communicate matters of greater importance. According to the gossip of the well-informed circles a new proposition has been concocted by Prussia and communicated to Austria—Francis Joseph immediately agreed to father it, and sent it under his paternity to Paris and London, where it was favorably received. Still under the present circumstances peace cannot be concluded without dishonor, as long as the army has not defeated the Russians in the Crimea. Accordingly orders have been sent to Gen. Pelissier for some immediate coup as glorious as possible. All the reserves from Minsk has been embarked to cooperate with the active army, and if victory can be gained within a week or fortnight the Prussian

Austrian proposition will be accepted at London and Paris. Whether the Czar will be ready to accept it likewise after a defeat, remains to be seen. Besides, the battle is not yet won, and the chances, though favorable to the Allies, may suddenly turn against them, as they did before Sevastopol, which is now in a far better state of defense than it was either in September or even at the time of the first bombardment in October.

Drouyn de l'Huys's disgrace is explained in the following way: After the last proposition of the Allies, supported by Austria, was rejected by Prince Gorchakoff without a Russian counter proposition, the French Ambassador should have closed the Conference and nailed Austria down to the stipulations of the treaty of the 2d of December. Instead of seizing this opportunity for forcing Austria into a closer alliance with France, he accepted a new proposition from Count Buol, and by accepting it he acknowledged the right of Austria to seek for new and equally illusory propositions, and to evade the obligations of the December treaty under the pretext that all the efforts for pacification had not yet been exhausted. Drouyn was duped by Count Buol, and Napoleon, who cannot boast of any victory in the field, dismisse the Minister who was caught in the trap of diplomacy and defeated by an Austrian Minister.

The young Prince Czartoryski was presented at Court on the Queen's birthday—a fact which sufficiently shows that the humbug of a Polish expedition is still to be kept up by the policy of the Allies. Four or five Indian Princes, Rajahs and Khans, were likewise present at the drawingroom; the increased facilities of intercourse with the East induce them to come to London and to see the results of European civilization. Whether those visits will have any influence upon the mind of the Easterners remains to be seen. The ruler of Kabul, Dost Mohammed, has signed a treaty of amity with the English which cannot but be beneficial to the safety of British India. The East India Company is expending large sums on roads, canals, railroads, bridges and telegraphs, and the next ten years cannot but very materially advance the welfare of India and the income of the company. They seem to be in earnest with their improvements.

Miss Nightingale, the heroine and pride of England, is seriously ill.

In Denmark the impeached ministers will have their trial in a few days. A. P. C.

## AFFAIRS IN FRANCE.

From Our Own Correspondent.

PARIS, Thursday, May 24, 1855.

You will have learned before receipt of this letter, of Canrobert's resignation of the chief command of the Eastern Army and of Pelissier's appointment in his stead. The resignation is interpreted by some as a dismissal, and certainly does smack a little of that quality. If it is to be considered a dismissal, it is at least an honorable one. The retiring chief is offered a higher grade of command under his successor than he asked for, and is elevated another degree in the order of the Legion of Honor. On his side, health impaired by the labors of the last campaign, depressing doubts of the final success of the siege, an oppressive sense of the responsibility resting on him, objections to the plan of the new campaign, advised by the Minister of War and the Emperor, are the supposed motives of his retreat; on the side of Government, beside the correlatives of these motives this other is hypothetically added, imperial disapproval of the expedition toward Kerch. The "improvement" of these hypotheses in print and conversation is verbose, copious and profitless, as usual. I let it pass with this brief note of record.

There are in *The London Standard* two amusing political squibs, a pretended dispatch from Lord Raglan, followed by a report that General Lord Raglan, Gen. Sir George Brown. You would think that their satirical character was marked with a clear evidence to the dullest intelligence; and yet these specimens of English humor were translated and published last Tuesday in the leading Paris journals as solemnly authentic documents. Think of the *Journal des Debats*, which prides itself on able treatment of foreign affairs, and of the official *Moniteur*, innocently publishing, as Lord Raglan's, a dispatch relative to that sailing party called the Expedition of Kerch, which begins in this wise:

"My Lord, I have the honor of informing you that the English expeditionary troops are destined to day to sail from the coast of the Crimea, and to land on the shore of the Crimea."

The public, so far as the public troubles itself about the matter, seems well content with the appointment of Pelissier to the chief command of the forces in the East. He is Canrobert's senior in rank, having been General of Division in April, 1850, a grade which his predecessor in the chief command attained after services performed in the time of the *camp d'Etat*. Like most of the other noted French generals of the day he is of the African school. He was long ago a favorite of Marshal Bugeaud, and at one period *ad interim* Governor of Algeria. "Constant readers" of THE TRIBUNE will remember the doubtful fame he earned there in June, 1845, by burning and suffocating some hundreds, men, women and children of the *Qued Kish* tribe in the caves of *Dehara*. There was great outcry of horror at the time by civilized Christendom, and it did not do to the "credit of humanity," as the outsiders thought. And yet I have not heard a murmur of horror over Lord Lansdowne's statement (which is correct) that 247,000 Russians have died because of this Eastern war since its commencement. Odd, that 247 roasted or smoked Arabs should appeal to much more strongly to the sympathies than 247,000 starved, frozen, stabbed, shot or otherwise killed Russians. If Gen. Pelissier should blow up Sevastopol to-morrow and send every mortal within its walls to the other world, it would be matter of infinite jubilee and solemn *Tu Deum* in the two most civilized countries of Europe.

Anxious-minded persons who cannot wait for events to come in their order utter tangled prophecies as to the summer campaign—telling you one day that the troops about Constantinople are to be sent to Bosnia to perform that "divine mission" with which the Emperor of the Ottomans the gens d'armes months ago; telling you another day that they are to be sent into the Crimea, etc. The talk of raising the standard of Polish and Hungarian nationalities, or even the standard of European liberalism, which had for its text the Polish addresses to the Emperor published two weeks ago in the *Moniteur*, is dying away. None but imaginative persons ever supposed that the publication of the addresses was much more than Buncombe for Austria. However, it is not the inconsistency of the act nor lack of boldness that would prevent Napoleon from putting himself at the head of Revolutionary Europe if pushed to the wall. Meantime we have another ultimatum proposed by Austria and under consideration by the Western Powers. It is likely enough to be accepted and offered to Russia, in which case the Vienna Conference may be soon reopened. With all this possibility of peace, in Russia as in France, the utmost efforts are strained in preparations for defense and offense. In Russia there is a new partial levy—it is the thirteenth of the sort—of twelve men on the thousand inhabitants; here preparations are making for an increase of the numbers of the National Guard—a significant operation if completed, which would leave free for expeditions to Germany or the Crimea a part of the army now

employed at home as preventive police, and which would bring the nation nearer to a balance with its master.

## PALEIS DE L'INDUSTRIE.

Certain persons, disappointed in not finding the Universal Exposition to be what they had anticipated, conclude that the fault is not in the exhibition but in it, and say that it is a failure. Now, as a mercantile speculation there is no danger for the Company that built the Palace that it will be a failure. Its shares have fallen at the Bourse since the opening. The part of the management was not a great loss, inexcusable and almost inexplicable failure in calculation. The Exhibition was to be in order on the 1st of May. It will not be before the middle of June. The ceremony of opening, at first adjourned for a fortnight and performed to an account of open boxes beggary in comparison with those that were still nailed fast, was a failure. But this merely proves that the French managers, with the experience of London, Dublin, New-York and Munich to help them, are not so good calculators in business matters, despite their national reputation for method and skill in management and administration, as English managers without experience for a guide. Meantime there is already exposed in the Palace what might satisfy a robust curiosity through several days' examination. One who decided ten days ago, after a hasty glance, that the Exhibition was a failure, would already find an admirable accumulation of reasons for revising his crude judgment. Those who seek in the Palace only the splendors of an enormous toy-shop, should adjourn their visit to next month. For them it might be a failure. The building itself is also, to some extent, a failure in architectural respects. The glass roofing, which is heavy without being imposing, and not agreeably relieved by the long rows of windows. Your little Palace in New-York was much more elegant, and for a temporary structure better fitted to its purpose. But these "flicks" French, sacrificing show to use, have built this Palace for a permanent object—for their regularly recurring national fairs. Considered as a silent but eloquent Congress of the representatives of industrial production, the French Exhibition is anything but a failure. An Englishman, whose connection with the World's Fair at London and with this one at Paris gives some weight to his authority, informs me that in the French department—as might be supposed—the latter is superior, and in the English department, is equal to the former. The failure, if anywhere, is most striking just at present in the American (U. S. A.) department, which exhibits a little worse than a blank space, and a staff of Commissioners defending it. Far be it from me to say a word against our Commissioners. If I were in search of a quarrel it should be with some less numerous party. It would not be a fair fight even for Capt. Davis. It is not for an American to speak evil of the glorious defenders of his country's flag; there is I believe a Commissioner to every star and a supplement for the stripes. To be serious, their abundance is rather laughable; to be just, it is no fault of theirs; many of them are doing such duties as they have to perform earnestly and without recompense; to be courteous, let me thank their very competent and hard-working President, Mr. Field, for his zealous interference in procuring tickets of admission for the editors and correspondents of American papers. The articles which will soon be exhibited in the American department are few in number, but sufficiently creditable to the country in other respects. Prince Napoleon hopes that others will yet arrive, and inquires with interest if we have not some wonderful working respiration machine (our crowning glory at London) on the way hither.

The practical chief of the French Committee of Management, Gen. Morin, received or gave his dismissal day before yesterday. A competent man for the post so far at acquisitions went, but so sadly lacking in amiable moral endowments that there was hardly a subordinate with whom he came in contact that did not cordially dislike him. I mentioned some while ago that prices of admission to the Industrial Exhibition and to that of the Fine Arts would be fixed on Sundays, after the 15th of June, at four sous. French people complained of this, saying there should be one day of free admission, as there is for the Louvre and other Museums. But the Commercial Company, being partner with Government in the present case, would not consent to their right of making a little money out of the poor, and of excluding the poorest by what seems to English and American notions the trifling tax of four sous. To-day it is announced in the *Moniteur* that the doors will be opened freely on Sunday, the Emperor paying the Company from his private purse for the privilege to the public. The numerous readers of *Galvani's Guide* (those who really do "read French as fluently as English" *Hachette's Guide de Paris* much superior) know that by French law all places of public amusement pay a certain per centage of their receipts for the maintenance of hospitals and other public charities. The *Administration of Public Aid* has a claim upon the Crystal Palace for this law. It expects all their confidential communications to be paid for the usual per centage on their receipts. The question will come before the Courts for decision. During the summer Prince Napoleon gives a series of grand receptions, whose especial purpose is to do the hospitable honors to the dignitaries of the industrial and other worlds brought to Paris on occasion of the Exposition. Princess Mathilde will act as lady of the house. These receptions will serve our traveling Potipphars as substitute for presentation to the Emperor, who does not receive at the Tuilleries in summer time. I should add, that as his Majesty sometimes gives a ball at St. Cloud, our good natured diplomatist agent, Mr. Platt, keeps his office open to receive the Emperor's guests, and will be always ready to perform his duties in favor of always ready tickets to the utmost of his ability. A series of midnight balls—a sort of parallel course to that pursued in the Palais Royal—are to be given weekly at the *Jardin d'Hyver*, under the auspices of Musard and Cellarius. Their character for chasteness and elegance is guaranteed by the price of admission—ten francs demanded indifferently from female and male guests. *Appropos* of balls and soirees—though not *appropos* of such—I must give a word to Messrs. Fowler and Preterre, two skilful American dentists, likely to rival (in everything but rate of fees) our other countryman, Evans, who "inaugurate" their elegant establishment on the Boulevard des Capucines by a soiree on Monday evening, which has been the topic of American talk here for the past two weeks. Several American ladies have taken the lucky dogs (they are bachelors) under their protection for the nonce, and will secure to the ball the grace and charm that customarily preside in their own hospitable salons.

Two Egyptian Princes are come to Paris to see the Fair. The King of Portugal is on his way hither. Caesar Augustus (or is it Augustus Caesar?) Dodge arrived some days ago. His advent did not make a sensation. He stays at the Hotel Liverpool, Place Vendôme, though by metaphorical and diplomatic subterfuge he resides near the Court of Madrid. Caesar Augustus's friends will be glad to learn that he is in safe hands—would we could say as much of our relations with Spain—to wit, those of Black George. Black George, as I think your readers have been informed on a previous occasion, is a colored gentleman, who came over to France as attaché to Mr. King, and has been more or less in diplomatic service ever since. Understanding French and his own business, and being of pleasant manners and engaging address, he has been a most useful guide, counselor and friend to many of our Ministers during what might be called their diplomatic novitiate. It is hardly necessary to add, after mention of his familiarity with the French tongue and foreign customs, that George has no recognized position in our diplomatic service. More the pity. I had hoped, in common with some other of our plenipotentiaries, that Mr. Perkins would make a place for him in his new bill—a roving commission as attaché in ordinary to any Extraordinary Envoy to Europe for six weeks after landing—as *Chargé d'Affaires en partibus*, or something of that sort. Although George's decided taste for courts and chancelleries, material motives may some day lead him to

take permanent office in the domestic line. Such contingency should be guarded against in the interest of our diplomatic corps. Suppose it to have already occurred in the present instance: Where would Dodge be (Caesar Augustus?)

THE GREAT DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT.

On the 24th of May Mr. Disraeli's motion, which we printed yesterday, was made in the House of Commons. It was a declaration of want of confidence in the Government, and had been adopted must have been followed by the immediate resignation of the Palmerston Ministry. The following is a summary of the debate:

Mr. Disraeli began by stating the reasons why he proposed this resolution. Having watched, he said, the conduct of the Government respecting the great question of peace or war, and especially during the conferences at Vienna, he had formed an opinion with regard to their intentions which filled him with great distrust. He thought the language of the Government ambiguous and their conduct uncertain; but it was impossible for him, although entertaining these opinions, to ask the judgment of the House so long as the negotiations continued. At length the proposal of the Conference was made, and the House, following precedent, would have taken the earliest opportunity to ask the opinion of Parliament, and state to the House what was the policy they intended to pursue. But he had been disappointed; he might say that the country had been disappointed, but he would have been disappointed only at the conclusion of the negotiations, the First Minister had come forward and fairly avowed the views of the Administration; but nothing of this kind was done. After the notice of Mr. Gibson's motion, which it was expected, would have taken the earliest opportunity to ask the opinion of Parliament, and state to the House what was the policy they intended to pursue. But he had been disappointed; he might say that the country had been disappointed, but he would have been disappointed only at the conclusion of the negotiations, the First Minister had come forward and fairly avowed the views of the Administration; but nothing of this kind was done. After the notice of Mr. Gibson's motion, which it was expected, would have taken the earliest opportunity to ask the opinion of Parliament, and state to the House what was the policy they intended to pursue. 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